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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3124

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 3772

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: SOVIET RESPONSE TO GLOBAL INITIATIVE ON HUMAN
CONTACTS AND INFORMATION

REF: GENEVA 3570

1. SUMMARY. THIS CABLE REPORTS HIGHLIGHTS OF DISAPPOINTING SOVIET RESPONSE TO WESTERN GLOBAL INITIATIVE ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION (REFTEL), AND SUMMARIZES INITIAL ANALYSIS OF NATO CAUCUS AND TACTICS AGREED IN CAUCUS FOR USE DURING NEXT FEW DAYS. WE GENERALLY AGREE WITH CAUCUS ANALYSIS AND BELIEVE IMMEDIATE COURSE OF ACTION AS AGREED IS ONLY REASONABLE NEXT STEP IN THIS NEGOTIATION. END SUMMARY.

2. SOVIETS GAVE THEIR RESPONSE TO WESTERN GLOBAL INITIATIVE ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION AT MAY 21 AND 22 INFORMAL MEETINGS WITH US, UK, IRISH AND DANISH DELS, IN FORM OF ORAL INDICATIONS OF MODIFICATIONS THEY WISH TO MAKE TO
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WESTERN PAPER, OR IN SOME CASES IN FORM OF GENERAL STATE-

MENTS OF THE TYPE OF TEXT THEY HAVE IN MIND. WESTERN DELS MADE NO COMMENTS ON SUBSTANCE DURING MEETINGS. AT CONCLUSION UK REP INDICATED WESTERN DELS WOULD GIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION TO EASTERN SUGGESTIONS. EASTERN DELS TOOK GREAT PAINS TO CHARACTERIZE THEIR RESPONSE AS A SERIOUS ATTEMPT TO REPLY TO THE WESTERN INITIATIVE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE WAY, WHICH THEY HOPED WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO WIND UP THESE SUBJECTS QUICKLY. HOWEVER, THE SUBSTANCE OF THEIR REPLY BELIED THEIR WORDS, CONTAINED FEW MEANINGFUL CONCESSIONS, AND PROPOSED A WHOLE SHOPPING LIST OF AMENDMENTS, MANY OF WHICH WERE MATTERS OF DETAIL, STYLE OR TRANSLATION. (HIGHLIGHTS OF SOVIET RESPONSE ARE TRANSMITTED BELOW.)

3. NATO CAUCUS DISCUSSED SOVIET RESPONSE AFTERNOON OF MAY 22, AND WAS UNANIMOUS IN FINDING IT MOST DISAPPOINTING. NOT ONLY HAVE SOVIETS STUCK TO VIRTUALLY ALL THEIR SUBSTANTIVE POINTS, THEY HAVE ALSO PROPOSED MANY MINOR CHANGES ON ISSUES WHICH GLOBAL APPROACH WAS DEVISED TO AVOID, SUCH AS ORGANIZATION, TRANSLATIONS, AND BRACKETS, AND ON WHICH WEST HAD ALREADY ATTEMPTED TO STRIKE A 50-50 BALANCE WITH SOVIET POSITIONS. ALLIES NOTED THAT SOVIETS APPARENTLY REALIZE THEY HAVE MADE A SERIOUS BLUNDER IN MIXING MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE POINTS WITH MINOR DETAILS, AND THAT SOVIET REPS ARE NOW SAYING IN CORRIDORS THAT ONLY ABOUT 10 OF THEIR LIST OF ALMOST FIFTY CHANGES ARE REALLY IMPORTANT. THUS FAR THEY HAVE NOT TOLD ANYONE WHICH POINTS ARE THE IMPORTANT ONES OR WHETHER THIS MEANS OTHER POINTS COULD BE DROPPED. ALLIES ALSO BELIEVE SOVIETS ARE NOW UNDER CONSIDERABLE PRESSURE, BOTH BECAUSE OF APPROACHING NATO SUMMIT WHERE STAGE III TIMING MAY BE DISCUSSED, AND BECAUSE OF THEIR EVIDENT INTEREST IN KEEPING THE GLOBAL INITIATIVE ALIVE. SOME ALLIES ARE CONVINCED THAT SOVIET RESPONSE WAS WRITTEN ON THE BASIS OF INSTRUCTIONS THEY HAD RECEIVED PRIOR TO GLOBAL INITIATIVE, AND THAT MORE FLEXIBLE INSTRUCTIONS MAY BE FORTHCOMING FROM MOSCOW WHEN GLOBAL INITIATIVE HAS BEEN STUDIED THERE. FOR ALL THESE REASONS, NATO CAUCUS CONCLUDED THAT SOVIETS SHOULD BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND THAT NEGOTIATING BALL IS STILL IN THEIR COURT, THAT THEIR LONG LIST OF CHANGES WOULD TAKE MONTHS TO NEGOTIATE, AND THAT THEY SHOULD IDENTIFY THE REAL POINTS FOR NEGOTIATION AND DROP

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THE REST.

4. NATO CAUCUS REACHED CONSENSUS ON FOLLOWING TACTICS FOR THE NEXT FEW DAYS:

(A) TAKE NO PRECIPITATE ACTION, EITHER TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS OR SUBSTANCE OR TO WITHDRAW GLOBAL INITIATIVE;

(B) MAINTAIN ALLIED UNITY ON ALL ASPECTS OF GLOBAL INITIATIVE;

(C) IN CONTACTS WITH SOVIETS, EASTERN DELS AND NEUTRALS EXPRESS DISAPPOINTMENT WITH SOVIET RESPONSE, AND CONVEY MESSAGE THAT SERIOUS CONSIDERATION WILL NOW HAVE TO BE GIVEN AS TO WHETHER GLOBAL INITIATIVE SHOULD BE WITHDRAWN;

(D) SEEK TO GET EASTERN REPS TO IDENTIFY THE REALLY IMPORTANT POINTS WHICH NEED TO BE NEGOTIATED, AND TO INDICATE WHETHER OTHER POINTS CAN BE DROPPED;

(E) WAIT FOR SOVIETS TO GIVE FURTHER SIGNALS OF FLEXIBILITY;

(F) EXCHANGE INFORMATION AND REVIEW SITUATION AGAIN IN CAUCUS ON TUESDAY, MAY 27.

5. IN VIEW OF DISAPPOINTING SOVIET RESPONSE, WE BELIEVE IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO ENTER NEGOTIATIONS ON SUBSTANCE AT THIS TIME, SINCE THIS WOULD LEAD SOVIETS TO BELIEVE AGREEMENT CAN BE OBTAINED ON BASIS OF THEIR PRESENT DEMANDS. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE WOULD PREFER TO KEEP THE GLOBAL INITIATIVE ALIVE, SINCE IT FORMS A GOOD BASIS FOR REASONABLE CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THESE SUBJECTS. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES WE BELIEVE TACTICS AGREED IN NATO CAUCUS ARE ONLY REASONABLE COURSE OF ACTION FOR THE NEXT FEW DAYS. SHOULD SOVIETS CUT DOWN THEIR LIST OF CHANGES, OR OFFER A FEW MORE SERIOUS CONCESSIONS, WE WOULD RECOMMEND MOVING WITH OUR ALLIES TO ENTER SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON REMAINING POINTS AT ISSUE, PRESSING FIRMLY FOR THE REASONABLE SUBSTANTIVE RESULTS WE WANT.

6. HIGHLIGHTS OF CHANGES PROPOSED BY SOVIETS ARE AS
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FOLLOWS:

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INFO OCT-01 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 3772

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-- HUMAN CONTACTS --

(A) SOVIETS WILLING TO ACCEPT BASIC COMPROMISE OFFERED BY WEST ON PARAS 2 AND 3 OF INTRODUCTORY TEXT, BUT DIS-AGREE WITH WESTERN TRANSLATION INTO RUSSIAN OF "FURTHER" IN PARA 3. THEY OBJECT TO "FORTHWITH" IN LAST PARA AS INACCURATE TRANSLATION OF RUSSIAN TEXT, WISH "AT THIS TIME" AT BEGINNING OF PARA INSTEAD.

(B) SOVIETS WISH TO MOVE PARA ON EXPANSION OF CONTACTS FROM END OF HUMAN CONTACTS TEXT TO IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING INTRODUCTORY TEXT, CHANGING SUBTITLE TO READ "CONTACTS BETWEEN INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS".

(C) SOVIETS HAVE PROPOSED SIGNIFICANT SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES IN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSION OF FAMILY TIES TEXT, INSISTING THEY ARE ONLY MATTERS OF STYLE, E.G. FEES FOR TRAVEL DOCUMENTS TO BE "ACCEPTABLE" RATHER THAN "REASONABLE".

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(D) SOVIETS WISH TO CHANGE NATURE OF OBLIGATION IN REUNIFICATION OF FAMILIES TEXT FROM "WILL" TO "HAVE IN MIND".

(E) IN FIRST PARA OF TRAVEL TEXT, SOVIETS MADE LITTLE EFFORT TO COME TO GRIPS WITH KEY WESTERN FREER MOVEMENT FORMULATION "INTEND TO FACILITATE WIDER TRAVEL"; PROPOSED "INTEND TO CONTRIBUTE TO FURTHER DEVELOPMENT AND FACILITATION OF THE POSSIBILITIES FOR TRAVEL." IN PARA 4, SOVIETS WISH

"IF NECESSARY" INSTEAD OF "WHERE NECESSARY"; WILLING ONLY TO AGREE TO REDUCING FEES FOR "PROCESSING" TRAVEL DOCUMENTS, RATHER THAN THE FEES FOR THE TRAVEL DOCUMENTS THEMSELVES. WISH REWORKING OF PARA 5, INCLUDING INSERTION OF "WOMEN'S AND YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS"; AND DELETION OF "INTERESTED" AND OF SENTENCE ON MEMBERS OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS.

-- INFORMATION --

(A) SOVIETS FOLLOWED WESTERN ORGANIZATION OF INTRODUCTORY TEXT, WHILE PROPOSING SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN SUBSTANCE TO ACCORD WITH THEIR IDEAS BUT WHICH ARE ANATHEMA TO THE WEST, E.G. LINKAGE OF INFORMATION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND GOOD-NEIGHBORLY RELATIONS AMONG STATES. A NOTABLE CONCESSION FROM THEIR EARLIER POSITION WAS THAT NO MENTION WAS MADE OF THE "RESPONSIBILITY" OF THE PRESS.

(B) SOVIETS PASSED OFF AS A DETAIL THEIR PROPOSED DELETION OF THE WESTERN SUBTITLE "IMPROVEMENT OF THE CIRCULATION OF, AND OF ACCESS TO, INFORMATION", A FORMULATION PARALLELING THE BLUE BOOK WHICH THE WESTERN DELS CONSIDERED AS ESSENTIAL QUID PRO QUO IN RETURN FOR THEIR OMISSION OF ANY MENTION OF ACCESS TO INFORMATION IN THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT.

(C) SOVIETS ACCEPTED "ACCESS BY THE PUBLIC" IN THE ENGLISH VERSION OF THE FOURTH PARA ON PRINTED INFORMATION, BUT INSISTED FOR STYLISTIC REASONS THAT IT BE TRANSLATED INTO RUSSIAN AS "PUBLIC ACCESS," AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH WESTERN LANGUAGE EXPERTS MAINTAIN WOULD RESULT IN SUBSTANTIVELY DIFFERENT TEXT.

(D) SOVIETS SUGGESTED COMPLETE DELETION OF OUR PARAGRAPH ON RADIO BROADCASTING.
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(E) IN PARA 5 OF JOURNALISTS TEXT SOVIETS MADE WOEFULLY INADEQUATE MOVE IN DIRECTION OF FACILITATING WIDER TRAVEL BY SUGGESTING "GRADUALLY FACILITATING JOURNEYS," WITH NO ATTEMPT TO DEAL WITH OUR CONCEPT OF PROVIDING WIDER OPPORTUNITIES FOR TRAVEL. IN SIXTH PARA ON EARLY RESPONSE TO REQUESTS FOR TRAVEL THEY WISHED TO ELIMINATE ALLEGED AUTOMATICITY BY INSERTING "AS FAR AS POSSIBLE." IN PARA SEVEN ON ACCESS TO SOURCES, THEY COULD ONLY ACCEPT SWISS FORMULATION WHICH MAKES NO REFERENCE TO INDIVIDUALS. IN THE EIGHTH AND NINTH PARAS ON ADMISSION OF TECHNICAL EQUIPMENT AND ON TRANSMISSION OF JOURNALISTS WORK SOVIETS PROPOSED AMENDMENTS WHICH WOULD MAKE THESE TEXTS MORE RESTRICTIVE THAN THOSE THEY HAD INFORMALLY AGREED TO IN PRINCIPLE LAST FALL AND WHICH ARE SUB-

STANTIALY REFLECTED IN SWISS TEXT. IN LAST PARA ON
EXPULSION THEY COULD ONLY ACCEPT THE SWISS FORMULATION,
WHICH OMITTS ANY MENTION THAT A JOURNALIST IS NOT LIABLE
TO EXPULSION FOR LEGITIMATE PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY. THEY
RJECTED ANY MENTION OF TECHNICAL STAFF, EITHER IN THE
TEXT OR IN A FOOTNOTE DEFINITION OF JOURNALISTS AS IN
THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. DALE

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